DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 060 580 EC 041 417

AUTHOR	Regal, Jacob, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	The Exclusion of Children from School - The Unknown, Unidentified, and Untreated.
INSTITUTION	Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	71
GRANT	OEG-0-70-3126(603)
NOTE	23p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Attendance; Disqualification; Dropouts; Economically Disadvantaged; *Exceptional Child Education; Expulsion; Handicapped Children; *Legal Responsibility; Minority Groups; *Out of School Youth; *School Role; Suspension; Withdrawal

ABSTRACT

Children who have been excluded from school for physical, mental, or emotional handicaps or who have simply never been enrolled as a result of parental neglect or school discouragement are the focus of the discussion. Schools are charged with getting rid of undesirable pupils (truant, long-haired, or other non-conforming students) through legal and illegal exclusions or lack of followup and concern. The lack of special services is mentioned as contributing to the dropout rate and to failure. Exclusions based on age or diagnosis, harassment by physical or psychological methods, and the lack of educational resources are described. The past educational history of a child is said to be the best predictor of whether a child will be a school attender. The plight of the poor, the handicapped, and the minority groups is considered with the suggestion that professional educators should be willing to develop enough strategies so that no child will be excluded from the system. (RJ)

ED 060580

THE EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN FROM SCHOOL

THE UNKNOWN, UNIDENTIFIED, AND UNTREATED

JACOB REGAL, *EDITOR*
RAYMOND N. ELLIOTT
HERBERT GROSSMAN
WILLIAM C. MORSE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS

EC 041 417

INTRODUCTION

The Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders (CCBD) was organized in 1962 as an outgrowth of the common concern of a group of members of the Council for Exceptional Children for the education of emotionally disturbed, socially maladjested, and brain injured children. Formal division status was granted in 1964.

In Denver, 1969, after an explosive business meeting, CCBD endorsed a statement which charged the educational system, The Council for Exceptional Children, and special education in particular, with perpetrating a system which denies education to the many children who fall outside the social "Norm" and are pushed into special education classes or are totally excluded from the educational process. It deplored the values and practices of professionals which create and maintain racist and otherwise dehumanizing values in society. It called for sweeping changes in the labeling process, charging that the categorization of children has resulted in a system that locks them into a pattern which deprives them of self realization. It charged CEC and its divisions—not excepting itself—with permitting themselves to be used as one of the special arrangements for relieving individual and institutional guilt and responsibility, and called upon CEC to seek a definition of exceptionality that is educational in its origin and conception, and in its diagnostic and remedial implications. It further affirmed the inadequacy of the traditional special education model of remediation and the need to develop a new model that would involve the total system and all children.

The demand for reform has not gone unheard. The Council for Exceptional Children has taken first steps with the development and approval of the policy statement on "Basic Commitments and Responsibilities to Exceptional Children" (Delegate Assembly, 1971)

Individually, and in group projects, studies have been begun and action taken to meet the challenge. The Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders brings to its members and others the following document:

THE EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN FROM SCHOOL: The Unknown, Unidentified, and Untreated, as developed in a project supported by the U.S. Office of Education Grant 0-70-3126 (603). It first came to our attention at a meeting of Program Directors in San Francisco in Fall, 1970, when Jacob Regal made a preliminary report on the project. We have followed with interest the development of the material and have read the paper with the realization that the information gathered by its authors should be shared with members of the division and of the entire educational community. The four: Raymond N. Elliot, Herbert Grossman, William C. Morse and Jacob M. Regal--who functioned as chief author as well as editor--share our enthusiasm for the project and have encouraged publication by the division as a step toward implementing the Denver statement.

This document raises questions about an educational system which serves only a segment of the youth in our society, excluding those who fail to conform. It identifies the children who are left unserved and disenfranchised because they are either "unknown, unidentified or untreated". It suggests solutions for the development of alternative strategies.

With this study the division continues its search for answers to the Denver challenge. Here it has identified one of the ideas to the attention and concern of educators.

June Peterson, President
The Council for Children with
Behavioral Disorders, 1971-72

The project was supported by a U.S. Office of Education Grant 0-70-3126 (603), The Pennsylvania State University and Trenton State College, New Jersey. In addition to the authors, those attending the conference where ideas relative to systematic exclusion were discussed were James G. Anderson, Raymond N. Elliott, Ross Green, Herbert Grossman, William C. Morse, John H. Norton, E. Milo Pritchett, Jacob M. Regal, Herman Saettler, Theresa Serapiglia, and Walter Stellwagen.

Editor: Jacob M. Regal. Trenton State College, Trenton, New Jersey
Authors: Jacob M. Regal
Raymond N. Elliott. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Herbert Grossman. Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama
William C. Morse. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Credits: Regal: 2,3,4,5,7,10. Grossman and Morse: 6 and 9. Regal and Elliot: 8.

THE UNKNOWN, UNIDENTIFIED, AND UNTREATED

The first article is intended to represent the thinking about exclusion by the four authors who participated in this venture. - Editor

The purpose of this report is to bring a critical problem of education to public attention. The problem concerns those children who do not attend school.

Although the issue appears to be a forthright problem that is readily available for examination, such is not the case. The term nonattender, is synonymous with dropout. But dropout does not include the children who were never enrolled in school, those who were suspended, excluded, failed out, or kept out by family and group social pressures.

There are other concerns that should be resolved if a systematic study of nonattendance is to reflect the magnitude of the problem. What extent of nonattendance is required before a child is considered a nonattender? Another way of examining the problem is to consider at what point nonattendance interferes with the future success of a child in school. If this report does little else, it will contribute to developing a taxonomy of nonattendance. Hopefully, this report will be of assistant to those concerned with equal education opportunity so that programs may be instituted to bring about universal education.

There are millions of children in the United States who are currently nonattenders. Professional educators must recognize that those children who do not attend school are unable to benefit from the new methodology and new technology associated with modern education.

The Unknown

At a time when the educational institution is undergoing a number of crises there is a population of children who do not present a problem to the institution since they are not enrolled.

These children are overlooked because they have not been able to get into the institutional system. Unless a child has some means for entering the educational system, he is largely invisible. The entry point for most people into our complex, highly organized society is the school. For the poor, the school may be the only entry point.

It is through the school that the poor become acquainted with preventive medical services whereby children may receive at least cursory medical exams. Through school health services children suffering from chronic diseases and malnutrition have an opportunity to be identified; parents may learn ways to obtain needed community health services.

The school is an entry point for jobs. Since most employment opportunities require a minimum of a high school diploma, many young people receive guidance and referral to employment through school.

The school serves as a developer of skills that may be prerequisite to employment. Children and youth learn how to adapt to a complex society in school through exposure to a broader range of the community than they will meet in their immediate neighborhoods. Those who attend school have an opportunity to evaluate themselves in relation to a complex society. Without knowing more than their immediate families or neighborhoods, children and youth are unable to discover who they are or what options are available to them.

In a nation where there is a strong belief that everyone goes to school and that universal education is taking place, it is difficult to conceive that there are children who are not enrolled in the educational system. However, there are such children. This category of nonenrolled children includes some who were never enrolled and others who were enrolled at some time but are no longer part of the system. A 1969 Bureau of Census report reveals that approximately 450,000 noninstitutionalized children ages 6 to 15, were not enrolled in school. These estimates are typically underestimates. When the Bureau of the Census does a projection based upon a 50,000 sample, as was done in this case, there is even greater likelihood that "pockets of the poor" were missed. A minimal corrected estimate would suggest that approximately a half million children are excluded from our social system through not being enrolled in school.

This process of nonenrollment is a blatant abuse of the poor. In most states, failure to enroll children is illegal, whereas, the schools and parents, jointly or individually, may be ~~committed~~ committing a misdemeanor by failing to enroll school age children.

A law is protective only when individuals have the resources to demand their rights. Children do not have these resources. In places where the parents and school conspire in the nonenrollment process, the rights of the child rarely receive recognition. Only when the parents or the professionals associated with the educational system act aggressively to enroll children, may we expect that a child's basic right to education will be protected.

In those cases where the school discourages parents from enrolling their children, children from economically depressed areas are the most frequent victims. Parents who are part of the socioeconomic depressed population are typically too frightened by the institutional bureaucracy to avail themselves of their rights of protest. There are numerous documented case studies of the poor being turned away from schools when they attempt to enroll their children. There are cases of the patient, persistent poor who bring their children to school many times only to be told of a technicality that prevents enrollment.

A frequently used means to avoid enrolling a child is to utilize the argument of lack of resources. For migrant workers, the school bus does not go to their camp. For the urban disadvantaged, special classes are not available. For both urban and rural children of the poor who need special services, a waiting list serves as a reservoir for the unenrolled.

Those who are employed by the educational system to design special educational services have a responsibility to become deeply concerned about these children who are excluded at the point of entry. The special educators should be studying the problems that are represented by those presently not enrolled. However, under present conditions, there is little likelihood that those not enrolled will come to the attention of the special educators. A means must be found to get those presently unenrolled past the screening of the institutional bureaucracy.

New administrative procedures are necessary. In most states, new legislation is not required unless it is to make administrators who violate the law subject to severe penalty. What is needed is a regulatory body in each state to insure that the law is enforced.

Central computer services could be utilized to inform a regulatory body of enrollment decisions. Whenever a parent and child request enrollment, regulations should require that a card be processed which would inform the regulatory body who applied and how the case was resolved. By this process, a regulatory body could efficiently identify those who are refused enrollment and the reason for nonadmittance. In this day of educational technology such processing does not represent a major challenge.

Another source of nonenrollment is parental rejection or indifference to the educational needs of their children. In order to avoid situations where the school officials fail to act in cases of parental neglect, perhaps a public agency other than the local school district should be made responsible for the school census and enrollment. Such separation of responsibility may avoid the present condition of self policing.

Forty-eight states and the District of Columbia have already made a decision through their compusory school attendance laws that parents do not have the right to deprive their children of an education. There is precedent for the state to exercise a protective role for children. ~~There is precedent for the state to exercise a protective role for children~~. Therefore, there is no legal question related to compulsory attendance; the problem has been a laxness in the enforcement of the law. Local school districts have demonstrated neither aggressiveness nor skill in that enforcement.

Without enforcement of the law requiring compulsory school attendance, we are in danger of having a half million of our children being unknown, unserved, and disenfranchised by our society.

The Unidentified

The children who are unidentified as needing special services include the nonenrolled, plus an even larger population of enrolled but not attending or partially attending. Several million children are in the unidentified population. The educational institution has given some recognition to those children, who are enroiled but no longer attend, with the designation of the term dropout. This term is well chosen to remove an aura of responsibility from the school. Dropout suggests that a youngster has had an opportunity to consider many options and has made a decision not to attend.

In the use of the term, there is little to suggest that years of disregard of the child's needs may have been a critical part of current nonattendance. A child's need for food or clothing may have been ignored; a child's need for success, recognition, or respect for his dignity may have gone unnoticed; a child's health problems may have been undiagnosed or untreated. There is little suggestion in the term dropout that community services were not made available to a child or that curriculum adaptations were not made so that a child might have had an opportunity to learn.

Children, who are enrolled but nonattenders, can arrive at this condition by a number of legal, extra legal, and illegal procedures. Some of the legal procedures include formal school exclusion by the action of the school board or their designees. This is a comparatively rare circumstance restricted by the complex procedures and the protection of the child by the laws of due process.

The extra legal process is more common. This is a circumstance where children are suspended from school by a building principal without his being required to provide evidence that due process was considered. There are numerous examples of irrational suspensions by building principals. Children may be suspended for tardiness or truancy. Apparently the child who has difficulty in getting to school is encouraged by the school authorities not to come to school. There are cases where children have been suspended for wearing hair too long or too short, for refusing to say prayers or saying too many prayers, refusing to salute the flag, wearing hats in school, wearing mini skirts or wearing slacks, talking too much or talking too little, being too aggressive or being too shy. Any child who doesn't understand the conforming mode is in danger of being suspended.

In some school districts illegal exclusions are practiced. This takes the form of the continuous suspension. A child is suspended for the maximum length of time allowed in a district, such as three days; then he is suspended again either prior to or immediately upon his return to school. Other forms of illegal exclusions are related to the unavailability of special services. A child is declared eligible for special education services but no services are available. The parent is instructed to keep the child at home until services are available. This form of exclusion may take place in states where the school code clearly defines responsibility of the school district to provide educational services to all children.

School encouraged nonattendance is probably the most common and most difficult to uncover. This is managed by the school informing a child and his parents that it would be best for everyone if the child stayed at home temporarily. The parent is informed that he will be notified when his child may return. No specific return date is established. When the parent make inquires after a period of exclusion, it is likely that he will meet with evasive responses. Another form of encouraged absence is a child's being sent home until he is ready to pay for something, or bring his parents to school, or bring a completed homework assignment, or confess to a misdeed. The first three alternatives may be beyond a child's control and the last not part of his response repertoire.

School nonattendance due to indifference is another area that is difficult to study or fix responsibility. When a child transfers out of a school district, there is rarely a follow up to determine if he has registered in another district. When youngsters seek work permits and excuse from regular attendance there is rarely any effort to determine if the youngster is being fully employed. The requirement of part time school attendance that is scheduled to be associated with employment may also be of little concern to a school faculty.

The unidentified child is the one who is forced out of the educational system through coercion, rejection, or through pervasive failure experiences. The unidentified child is the one who gets in and out of the educational system without much awareness by the professional educators that the child has either joined or left the community of children.

The unidentified child is not the one who creates major problems for the school. He comes and goes with such little disturbance that his lack of attendance is no more noticed than his attendance. When the unidentified child discovers his behavior is disturbing to the faculty, he doesn't struggle; he just drifts away. He may return to his home until his parents either make him or his teachers uncomfortable. Were this child identified and diagnosed he might be labeled retarded, maladjusted, neurologically impaired, neurotic, psychotic, schizophrenic, or learning disabled. Although unidentified children are spared labeling, they are also deprived of needed services.

These drifting children are difficult to enumerate. They often come from families that move from place to place. School records become lost in the move. At times these children may join the community of other children; they become "sometime" members, eventually they may become occasional or alienated members of society.

The Untreated

The untreated child is one who manifests a problem. He becomes known for some deviant behavior, but is not provided services.

The behavior problem child is the most obvious category that attracts attention. Although attention is usual, services are few. When there is a lack of remedial facilities, the behavior problem child is offered the opportunity to shape up or ship out. These are the children who are the most frequent victims of an exclusion action.

For behavior problem children who are untreated, exclusion techniques vary from complete exclusion to part day exclusion. This child is disrupting to the system. When the system is unable to accommodate through ~~their~~ remedial services, then the child is exluded from the system through direct or indirect means.

The untreated child with learning problems is unable to keep pace with other children his age. He may be diagnosed, and appropriate terms applied to his disorder, but without treatment, he cannot be maintained with his peer group who are able to profit from the normal educational services. As this child fails to make academic progress and is retained year after year, he is soon too old to be comfortable with younger children who are his peers in the classroom. If he is socially promoted, he is being asked to perform tasks he is unable to perform. This untreated child is aware he doesn't fit in and is not wanted.

The untreated child who is able to withstand the social rejection and failure experiences until high school discovers new pressures and new requirements that make adjustment even more difficult. Social and intellectual requirements increase and his untreated problems become even more apparent. The choices available to children increase in high school. There are numerous social decisions, rewards, and punishments that accompany each decision. The adolescent with untreated problems has difficulty making adaptive choices. Without help he may develop into the adult who is unable to select appropriate alternatives. The process of ignoring problem youth develops a large population of problem adults, who live in a shadow world, in constant need of services, either for their own survival or for the protection of society. Unless treatment dollars are spent on youth, the later cost to the community will be in generations of maladjusted children and adults.

DESCRIBING THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL EXCLUSION

During the summer of 1970, a group of social scientists and educators met in Washington, D.C. to examine the problem of school exclusion. Some of the questions raised at the conference were predictable, such as the need for more precise data. However, there were some new directions suggested which reflected an emergent concern by social scientists and educators. Perhaps the most refreshing concept was that the outcome of the conference must *not* be to suggest another survey with the hope that precise data would cure the ailment. Those attending the conference were unanimous in stating that the responsibility of the group was to make an initial effort to describe the problem and suggest solutions.

One initial concern about the inadequancy of data used to study the problem in most communities was that the information presently aggregated may be misleading. Since these data are frequently used as a basis for projecting the nature and extent of social problems, the participants were concerned that reliance on census data might lead to inappropriate conclusions. The present census questions utilized in arriving at an estimate are:

1. Since February 1, 1970, has this person attended school at any time?

2. What is the highest grade or year attended?

3. Did he finish the highest grade attended?

The projections from the data derived from replies to these questions may underestimate the dimensions of the problem.

The Office of Education is reportedly working on interpreting census data to determine nonattendance in school districts. Unless the report is based on data that probes beyond census information, the report would be of limited value. Additional data could be compiled to augment the census data by using the Monthly Population Survey; this is a survey interview which samples 50,000 households in major metropolitan areas and rural counties. This service may be contracted to compile data on school attendance queations. With improved and more precise questions, a sample survey may provide a more accurate and inexpensive estimate of school nonattendance.

School census reports are another alternative. However, all states do not conduct a school census; the missing data prevent accurate estimates of nonattendance.

Prior to the 1970 conference, a request was made of each of the 50 states seeking information on nonattendance. This effort to obtain information from each state department of education was not profitable. State educational agencies and school districts appear to be threatened by requests for nonattendance data. Alternative means, other than an administrative survey, may have to be employed in order to obtain sufficient information for an estimiate.

Various sources of data could be combined and the number interpolated. Such sources may be (a) the average daily attendance figures, (b) the number of children of each age range from census data, and (c) employment office records.

As a preliminary step to gathering information, some operational definition of nonattendance would have to be determined. What is a nonattender? It was suggested at the conference that a nonattender be defined as a student who is physically present in school less than 75 percent of the time. The partial attender may be in a category that would have to be considered in order to reflect the continuum of attendance to nonattendance.

Presently there ~~is~~ are enough data to arouse public concern. Informing the public of the exclusion practices of schools may suffice. Simple descriptive reports of particular children may be most meaningful to the lay public. Specific examples of groups of children who are excluded may be more realistic for people to visualize than aggregate statistics. Dramatic figures that could be reported are the number of 7 year olds who have dropped out of school or who have been excluded, the number of 19 and 20 year olds who do not have high school diplomas, or the number of suspended children in a certain area who never came back to school. Thousands of children were put on waiting lists for special services in Chicago. During the waiting period, school facilities were not available to them. Thirteen children were prevented from enrolling in McConnelsburg, Pennsylvania, because of faculty estimates of low mental age. In many communities, children are assigned to school on a part day basis because of a lack of facilities. Other common practices include the exclusion of married and pregnant girls.

There is a need to arouse public interest and mobilize forces. Today's social issues are competing for attention. A document that brings together information and describes the existing procedures and stuctures may focus attention. Groups can use this document for ammunition. New educational services can be ordered into this area. Attention can be focused where action is needed. This document may point out where protective legislation and enforcement procedures are necessary. This document may be a catalyst for change.

Categorizing the Problem of Exclusion

The participants of the conference proposed a number of categories to describe the problem of exclusion. The categorization was based upon the mechanism of exclusion invoked by the educational system and other community forces. In determining categories there was general agreement that a mechanism for exclusion could be passive or aggressive and be equally effective in bringing about conditions of nonattendance. Therefore, there was no further effort to refine categories along a passive-aggressive continuum.

The categories for exclusion determined at the conference were age, deviant behavior, physical and psychological harrassment, lack of resources, and past education history. These categories were not conceived as a continuum, nor were they considered discrete without overlap.

The participants were in agreement as to the enormity of the problem of precisely defining the shape and dimension of the total problem of nonattendance. It was agreed that, were we to devote our time and energy to that task, by the time we arrived at a precise description, the problem would have changed sufficiently to require a new study. Therefore, the participants of the conference decided to describe smaller, more manageable segments of the problem of nonattendance so that communities could focus their resources to deal with problems of manageable dimensions.

THE DROPOUT AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION PRACTICES

Large numbers of American youth fail to enter and finish school, despite school attendance laws and a variety of special programs. These youths are designated as droputs. The term dropout is fallacious; surely the person who applied that term must have been struck with the same genius as the one who described the Los Angeles riots as the Watts riot. There is a skill in utilization of language that makes the trivial appear significant and the massive appear minor.

Although the term dropout is misleading, it has stuck because it fits logically:

Logic Statement One: Forty-eight of the 50 states have compulsory attendance laws.

Logic Statement Two: If attendance is compulosry, then each of the 48 states must be involved in coercive activities in requiring children to attend.

Logic Statement Three: Those children not attending are violating the law and are guilty of misdemeanor. Since it is inconceivable that anyone in our society would be directed to break a law, then such actions must be voluntary.

Logic Statement Four: A voluntary nonattender may, for simplicity of terminology, be labeled a dropout, since he has decided of his own volition to act illegally and drop out of school.

The belief that nonattendance in school is a voluntary act is reflected by the television announcements urging youth to remain in school. The assumptions in these urging statements are that youth have a number of alternatives available, and they should select the school attending alternative.

Four types of activities by schools appear directly related to nonattendance:

1. Legal exclusions
2. Extralegal and illegal exclusions
3. School encouraged nonattendance
4. School indifference to nonattendance

It seems likely that of the millions of nonattenders in the United States today, the majority have experiences with schools that fit into one of these four categories. Through legal, quasilegal, and extralegal devices, or through apathy, schools cause, encourage, and welcome the lack of attendance in school of millions of American youngsters. Such activity by the educational system serves as a denial of civil rights as massive as the separate school systems maintained by law in prior years.

Legal Exclusion

In most states the process of legal exclusion usually requires a public or semipublic hearing. This type of procedure apparently is invoked to protect the children's rights to an education.

Some of the statutes within state educational codes that provide cause for exclusion are:

1. The behavior of the child is considered to be detrimental to the welfare of the other children.
2. The behavior of the child is beyond the control of adults in the school.
3. The behavior of the child may endanger his own welfare.
4. The child is described as unable to profit from school experience.
5. The maturity of the child is so retarded that he is unable to function without constant supervision and is unable to participate in group activities.
6. The child is diagnosed as having a contagious disease.
7. The child is diagnosed as suffering from physical and/or psychological disorders so that attendance at school would endanger his health.

In the absence of precise knowledge, some of the categories of problems which appear to be abused by legal exclusions are those of pregnant girls, truants, and children who are deviant in social and learning behavior within school.

Pregnant girls are frequently excluded; presumably this exclusion is based on endangering the welfare of other children, since it is unlikely that school boards consider their condition contagious.

Another type of abuse is the truant who is excluded for not coming to school. There will be no attempt to interpret the rationale for exclusions because of truancy.

Emotionally distrubed children may be excluded because of their inappropriate behavior with teachers. A teacher with a class of 30 may be unable to devote the necessary time or have the skill to explore means of communicating with an emotionally disturbed child.

Similarly, children who appear not to profit from school may be unable to learn in the prescribed curriculum and, where the teacher is unable to experiment with modifications of the standard curriculum, may be excluded.

However, these legal exclusions are comparatively few; the complexity of the process encourages school administrators to seek a number of alternatives prior to undertaking an exclusion action.

The Extralegal Exclusions

Extralegal exclusions may be of much greater magnitude than the legal.

Some examples of extralegal exclusions are:

1. The continuous suspension. A child is suspended for the maximum allowed by a school district, returns to school for a day or two, and is suspended again. This process is repeated indefinitely. Although the continuous suspension has been declared illegal in some states, school districts within those states frequently act illegally, apparently aware of the inadequate enforcement procedures.

2. The refusal to enroll a child in school. This is the procedure whereby parents bring their child to school, and they are told that their child does not qualify for admission at this time. Parents who are fearful of bureaucratic procedures quietly take their child home and return the following year. They may be told the same story for several years. In many states, this action by school personnel is not only extralegal, but clearly illegal. This type of illegal activity is more prevalent in rural areas than in urban areas. Migrant workers would be particularly subject to this type of abuse.

3. The conditional, unofficial suspension. Children are sent home and instructed not to return without their parents. This condition may be beyond the child's control, since he is unable to enforce the school's demands.

   Parents may be instructed to keep their child at home until they can guarantee a modified behavior. This may be an impossible condition for parents with a disturbed child when there is a lack of treatment resources in the community.

4. The waiting list. Another system of extralegal exclusion is the waiting list for special services. Children are diagnosed as falling within a category of special education, and declared eligible for services. The parents are informed that there is a shortage of facilities, and their child is placed on a waiting list. In the meantime, the child is excluded from school. At this point, there is sparse information on how waiting lists function for various categories of disability.

5. The use of homebound instruction. Homebound instruction is another area for potential abuse as a means of extralegal exclusion. This area of education should be high on a priority list for close study.

School Encouraged Nonattendance

Encouraging nonattendance is a process practiced by some schools which so enmesh students in rules and regulations that the most convenient solution for the child is nonattendance.

Some examples of this category are:

1. Suspending children from school for tardiness; this suggests that the motto should be, "better never than late."

2. Making informal agreements with parents to keep children out of school.

3. Suspending children for failure to adhere to rules not related to the attainment of academic skills, without making a case as to the virtues of such rules: the requirement of special clothes, stripping, or showers for physical education, dress codes, hair length codes, wearing of hats in school, possession of cigarettes, smoking, etc. The remedial effects of frequent suspension for enforcing such rules should be studied.

School Indifference to Nonattendance

This is another area that merits study in order to suggest how this problem may be controlled. School indifference may be manifested in many ways.

1. When children request transfer out of a school district, there is rarely a follow up to determine if the child has registered in another district.

2. When young people seek work permits and excuse from regular attendance, there is rarely any effort to determine if the youngsters are gainfully or fully employed.

3. Children from the slums and rural poverty areas who do not attend school are frequently treated as immune to compulsory attendance laws.

   A recent survey in a section of Harlem uncovered more than 2,000 school age youth not attending school and living without adult supervision.

The previous descriptions of some of the conditions related to nonattendance are far from exhaustive. They are primarily a description of the most obvious violations of compulsory attendance laws.

AGE

Excluding youth from school based on age as a contributing factor is most significant at the preschool, primary grades, and high school.

Preschool programs frequently have a number of developmentally stated requirements that are given as a condition for eligibility to the program. Such requirements frequently exclude children who are from the low socioeconomic part of the community. Preschool programs are not mandated as educational services that are to be universally available. Therefore, the educational system has an opportunity to select those children who will cause minimal difficulty in the teaching-learning process.

In the selection process for preschool services, those children who are the most immature are most frequently rejected because of their immaturity. Those children in the greatest need of assistance are excluded because they display this need. One type of preschool program directed at the poor is Head Start. The philosophy of Head Start preschool programs is to prevent the children of the poor from falling farther behind their comtemporaries in school-type tasks. In reality, the selection process of Head Start may be widening the gap within the population of the poor. The children of the lower segment of the lowest socioeconomic class may be segregated even more by compensatory programs with unrealistic admission requirements.

In the primary age group, most states do not require that children be served at the age of 6. The child's level of maturity may be used by the schools as a screening device. In some states when children reach the age of 6, the educational system is not required to provide service. In many states a simple statement by an employee of the school system that a child is too immature to profit from school is sufficient to exclude a child for one or two years.

In many states school districts refuse to provide service to a child of school age although they are required by law to make such provision. These laws are frequently abused and parents rarely have sufficient information so that they are aware of their rights.

In a number of states when children reach their eighth birthday the law becomes even more stringent. At that age the parents are no longer given choice whether they wish to have their child educated. When a child reaches his eighth birthday a parent is required to make provision for a child's formal education.

This law for compulsory education is not enforced uniformly. The enforcement depends upon the community, the visibility of the parents, and socioeconomic level. The status of the child and the reputation of the family may also be considered in the enforcement of compulsory attendance laws. Compulsory education laws are less vigorously enforced for black children than for white, rarely enforced in urban ghettos; it is even more unusual to have such laws enforced for the rural poor. There is little effort to help parents from the lowest socioeconomic levels to get their children to school, nor is there any effort to protect the children when the parents demonstrate irresponsibility for the welfare of their children.

Although the percentage is small, there are a substantial number of young adults who have never been enrolled in a formal education program during their childhood. There is considerable evidence that the conditions that brought about these lacks in educational services have not been corrected. At the young adult age level, school districts are absolved of educational responsibilities when a youth reaches his nineteenth birthday. For those youths who are unable to complete school because of economic need in the family or because of health problems, education becomes dependent on the enlightenment of the school district. For the employed youth, the school district may or may not have special education services. Such services are frequently mandated, but rarely provided.

Those youth who have reached their nineteenth birthday and reside in the school district without an evening adult program may be prevented from completing their education. In other communitites, a youth may voluntarily withdraw from school when he reaches his sixteenth birthday. With children who are identified as problem youth the educational system might facilitate such withdrawal.

Age becomes a critical factor in districts with special programs for handicapped children. Those youth who have been unable to progress academically at the same pace as normal children may be embarrassed to be kept in a group of peers who are much smaller and more socially immature. As an example, it is unrealistic to expect a 14 year old to be able to maintain any reasonable self respect if he must attend school with children in third grade. His most reasonable alternative to protect his self respect may be to provoke the school into excluding him or to leave through the process of extended truancy.

The relationship of age to voluntary and involunary exclusion becomes entangled in social and psychological issues. What are the responsibilities of the educational system? What ages should the system serve? What should be the nature of the services? Who should bear the additional cost of these services? What agency or combination of agencies should be expected to provide educational services?

Age is a factor in exclusion because of the social problems associated with age. As we study the problem of age the questions asked in the previous paragraph must be examined before practices related to nonattendance can be corrected.

DIAGNOSIS

Formal and informal diagnostic processes are used as mechanisms for excluding children from school. With younger children seeking admission to kindergarten or first grade, a number of procedures may be followed in order to exclude children from the educational system. In kindergarten, informal diagnostic procedures may be delegated to a teacher or clerical staff.

A parent may be asked questions related to the social maturity of a kindergarten-aged child, and if the child does not meet minimum standards he is not admitted. In other cases, a child may be admitted but if he demonstrates a lack of maturity in his first day of kindergarten he may be excluded. In other cases the diagnostic process is a means test where the parents are asked directly if they are prepared to pay a fee for their child's attendance. In other circumstances the parents are screened out because they are unable to provide transporation for their child. There are numerous informal diagnostic procedures that are utilized to exclude children from kindergarten.

Formal diagnostic procedures usually are not instituted prior to the first grade. At this age a child seeking admission may be tested if his behavior appears deviant. The test may be administered by trained personnel or administered by untrained staff. If a child fails to attain a certain score on a test, he is excluded from first grade. Whether alternative programs are offered depends on the variety of services available in the district. However, it is not unusual for parents with children who fail an admission test to be informed that they should try again next year or that their child will be placed on a waiting list for special services.

Children who are diagnosed as orthopedically handicapped, emotionally disturbed, neurologically impaired, or mentally retarded are frequently victims of early deprivation of educational services. Children at times are diagnosed as having a severe communication problem when they are unable to comprehend English. This circumstance is particularly prevalent with the children of migrant workers. The child is excluded from school because he is unable to respond appropriately to psychological tests administered in English.

For those children who are excluded from school the first year, there is little hope that their intellectual progress will improve by remaining home or that the crippled child will be miraculously cured, or that the non-English speaking child will gain a better understanding of the language working in the fields with other non-English speaking children. Some of these children will never be enrolled in a formal education program.

For those children who finally gain admission to school the educational system at times develops partial exclusion procedures. From the results of a psychological or educational assesment there may be a decision that a child can profit only from part day attendance. Others diagnosed as not profiting from school may be assigned to homebound instruction where a teacher visits the home for one or two hours per week.

Children throughout their school career are confronted with diagnostic and assessment practices. For some this serves as a means of excluding them from the educational system. The diagnostic practices may result in a child's being labeled in a particular category, such as emotionally disturbed. The faculty of the school, with the support of community agencies, may concur that the child is disturbed. There may be general agreement that a disturbed child would benefit from a special program, if it were available. However, it is not available. Therefore, the child who is labeled emotionally disturbed and no longer eligible for regular classroom instruction may be excluded because there are no provisions being made for his formal education.

The diagnostic process is frequently supported by educational evaluation and achievement testing. Low IQ has been blamed for the inability to complete school (Blough, 1956). However, other investigators have demonstrated that aptitude tests discriminate against individuals from a poverty background (Eells, et al., 1951, Fulk & Harell, 1952). R.C. Penty (1956) demonstrated that if groups of graduates and dropouts are matched on the basis of social class, IQ differences disappear and the dropout has the same level of natural ability as the graduate.

There appears to be some misunderstood data related to nonattendance. One statistic is repeated in many studies. The children of the poor are less likely to finish high school than the children of more affluent parents. An interesting statistic that is overlooked is that when whites and non-whites *of the same income level* are studied, the incidence of graduation is twice as high for non-whites as for whites. The data become confounded in studies of nonattendance by the fact that non-whites have a higher probability of being poor than whites.

Since testing and evaluation does not reflect the mastery of a task but how well a child performs tasks in comparison with others, the child who is unable to compete successfully is designated as a failure. When children acquire a number of failures they may become identified as unable to profit from school. Such children may be excluded from normal educational opportunity and placed in special programs that may hold no interest for them. For children identified as failures there are very few alternatives. The alternatives are reduced to two choices, a segregated, poor educational placement or no educational opportunity.

There is ample information to prove that the cultural milieu is directly related to ability to perform on IQ and achievement tests. Romaine Mackie (1968) demonstrated in her work that 80 percent of the children designated as mentally retarded could just as appropriately be designated as disadvantaged. Therefore, the danger with special education services is that the classes designated as retarded may in reality be an in-school means of excluding poor children from a formal education. These children experience de facto segregation based on socioeconomic level.

The issue of diagnosis as a means for school exclusion may provide a distorted view of the problem of nonattendance. Many of the diagnostic and evaluative procedures are reasonable predictors for children's success within the current school curriculum. The issue is how to change the educational system so that it can more adequately serve more children. Predicting from the results of a psychological test that a child who speaks only Spanish will have difficulty reading English is a common educational practice. The accuracy of such predictions should be of less concern than the ethics. The results of the test do not suggest what reading skill the child would develop with a Spanish speaking teacher who would provide some special reading assistant for the child. The present diagnostic procedures reflect the present curriculum. From a broad social viewpoint, the results of diagnostic tests reveal how the educational system fails to meet the needs of a large proportion of the nation's children. Based on the knowledge resulting from the testing of millions of children, the educational system should now be in a better position to modify service so that the attendance from all socioeconomic levels may be increased.

PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HARASSMENT

One method of solving the problem of the "unwanted intolerable or incorrigible" student is to encourage him to absent himself from school by harassment. Perhaps the most obvious form of harassment is the direct application of physical punishment either through "legislated" strappings or the more usual illegal but overlooked roughing up arm twisting type of tactic. The student may learn to avoid school out of fear of further punishment, or he may avoid school because he is afraid to unleash the counter aggressive impulses such abuse evokes within him.

Psychological harassment may be equally devastating and sometimes even more vicious. Students who are racially or ethnically different, students whose hair is too long, whose political opinion is too unacceptable, whose behavior is too intolerable may be subjected to blatant public insult and slander. This type of harassment can be much more difficult to accept without retaliation than more physical punishment. It slices into students' self esteem and engenders intense feelings of anger against the established authorities. It is not only a violation of human rights but a means of encouraging nonattendance by forcing the aegis of this decision to appear to be on the student. While these conditions are not universal, neither are they uncommon. They are, in fact, one major source of the power struggle now seen in school uprisings. As the culture has changed and the acculturation process becomes more subtle, what was once tolerated is no longer accepted.

Just as there are the obvious cases, there are the innuendoes. And there is the use of tone and inflection which communicates a sense of rejection or expectation of failure. There are tracking, special classes, lack of encouragement, and counseling consciously or unconsciously designed to reduce initiative. The documentation is clear and the response of pupils of all age levels is one of discouragement. For those who need help most, and who have the least support from other sources, this harassment is the more telling. When they have given up hope, there is one escape. Come as infrequently as possible, or don't come at all and there will be less trouble. We insult the sensibilities of youngsters, especially adolescents. We dehumanize the system, especially at the very point where the marginal pupil requires special consideration.

A bill of rights for students establishing at least minimum standards of acceptable pupil-teacher relationships is certainly in order.

Some children who become chronic nonattenders arrive at this condition after a protracted period of physical and psychological harassment. The physical harassment of some is carried out by community residents who wish to prevent children from being enrolled in school. The parents and children who are not desired in a particular school are informed in most direct terms that they are not welcome. This form of harassment which prevents enrollment frequently takes place in rural and blue collar suburban communities.

In some rural communities in the South and Appalachia, black children are in physical danger when they attempt to enroll in a white school. The school for blacks may be more than an hour's bus ride away, but this is designated as the school for the black child to attend if he is not to be in physical danger. The rural transportation facilities, and the uncomfortable and lengthy bus ride discourages many of the children from attending school.

Blue collar suburban communities take on a militant, angry posture when black children attempt to enroll in school. The stoning of cars and threatening action of the residents frighten off children and parents who are seeking an education rather than a confrontation.

The psychological harassment is a more common means for preventing enrollment. The parents become entangled in deliberately arranged red tape. When undesirable parents attempt to enroll their child, they are first urged to go to "their" school and if they refuse they are confronted with forms and processes that require considerable legal talent to complete. In addition, as was discussed in the section on diagnosis, the child may receive a number of psychological tests in order to disqualify him for admission. Minority group parents and their children are frequently victims of psychological harassment.

The migrant worker and the American Indian may be faced with conditions making enrollment difficult. The migrant worker may be informed that the school bus does not stop at their camp and transportation is not available. The Indian family is informed that the only educational opportunities available are in residential schools, and neither child nor parents are interested in protracted separation. With nothing available but a series of discouraging alternatives, the children of the migrant worker and the American Indian may never enter school.

There is a large number of children who enter school but withdraw periodically due to physical and psychological harassment. Migrant workers follow the crops and as the child moves from school to school, he also finds various kinds of attitudes as well as different methods and materials. As the child makes an effort to adjust to new conditions, he is most vulnerable to psychological harassment. The child of the migrant worker may face unusual medical and health problems. The

sanitary conditions in the migrant workers' camps are typcially substandard. As the migrant worker moves from community to community, he has difficulty in gaining knowledge or eligibility for medical services. The problems of nutrition and shelter may become insurmountable for families of migrant workers when they seek assistance in a hostile and unsympatheitc community.

The Indian child who makes an attempt to adapt to a residential school program may become a victim of physical or psychological harassment. At times the dormitory supervisors are untrained and brutal people. They may have far too many children to supervise and the simplest method by which to run a program is to have it based on fear. The activities that the Indian child has learned to value may be denigrated and the irrelevancy of the curriculum may encourage a child to leave a hostile enviroment. The psychological price that is extracted from the Indian child may be too destructive to his value system for the educational product.

Children whose social behavior is aberrant may also suffer from various forms of harassment. The emotionally disturbed child who is unable to concentrate on school work may suffer at the hands of insensitive members of the faculty. Children who have difficulty controlling their social behavior may, in some situations, be beaten or embarrassed by inadequately trained faculty. These children may be suspended so that they are unable to keep up with the other children in the performance of school tasks. The rejection and failure in school may lead either to the child's withdrawing voluntarily from the school or, when a child's behavior is too disturbing, to his exclusion.

The socially maladjusted child may suffer psychological harassment from community sources when his problems have involved him with community law enforcement agencies. During the period that a delinquent is institutionalized he may or may not be in a setting where educational facilities are available. Local community detention centers rarely have educational facilities. State correctional institutions ordinarily have educational facilities, but they are commonly served by teachers of less competence than are found in public schools. The equipment, materials, and surroundings are less stimulating than one finds in the regular school program. Within the depressed atmosphere, the delinquent child manages to go through the motions of attending school while simultaneously avoiding an education. If this child returns home to his regular school, he discovers that he is far behind his classmates. He is confronted by a new series of failure experiences.

Another problem child who may face psychological harassment is the pregnant girl. These girls are treated as though pregnancy had changed them into social lepers. They are treated as outcasts. Though most school districts will not permit pregnant girls to attend, some school districts make provisions for these girls such as homebound instruction, adult evening classes, or special pregnant girl programs. Many school districts exclude them for the duration of the pregnancy without making any provisions. Such exclusion has no basis medically, but Victorian philosophy prevents the girl from pursuing an educational career with optimum efficiency.

Even those children who are affluent, but alienated, suffer psychological harassment. The middle class youths who dress in an extreme fashion or wear their hair in a manner different from the orthodox may be exposed to harassment. There are numerous court cases on record; affluent parents have brought suit against schools so that their children would be allowed to continue their education and not be deprived of their civil liberties in regard to grooming. As long hair has become more accepted, there are fewer cases involving this form of deviancy. However, the educational system views the new as a threat to the status quo. Any such threat must be excluded. It is reasonable to predict that any new fashion of life style that is adopted by the young will be regarded as a threat and the youth who practices such behavior will be harassed.

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR: A MECHANISM FOR SCHOOL EXCLUSION

Deviant behavior is high on the list of reasons for school exclusion. However, defining the term deviant behavior, is a difficult task.

In formulating a definition of deviant behavior, the attitudes of teachers must be given primary consideration. Teachers are usually the source of referral and the describer of behavior that is labeled deviant. One or more teacher referrals usually result in some form of suspension or expulsion for the student. Studies (Kay & Lowe, 1968) have shown that teachers resent most behaviors which interfere with *their* programs, *their* ideals, and *their* beliefs.

The teacher is in a unique position to observe children's behavior in a variety of settings. There is evidence supporting the contention that teachers can reliably and validly report overt, discrete aspects of pupil behavior (Phillips, 1968). However, other studies (Kay & Lowe, 1968) have reported that the behaviors of students that disturb teachers the most are those that are different from *their* own beliefs. Teachers often classify these "problem" children as exhibiting deviant behavior, acting out, or aggressive behavior. These "behaviors" are often defined as so disturbing that the child interferes with the learning of others in the class.

Actually the definitions for many of the terms describing behavior are vague. The term aggression is much overused. It may describe behaviors ranging from a reaction to boredom to wrestling at the wrong time and in the wrong place. Discharges of surplus energy, displaced needs from the home or neighborhood, loss of control in the face of seductive equipment (e.g., slingshot or knife), personal battles with adults, other children, the group, or the teachers all come under the rubric of agression (Redl, 1969).

Kay and Lowe (1968) had teachers describe what they felt were examples of "acting out" behavior. The responses were:

1. ". . .tried to show me up in front of the class."

2. ". . .ignored me when told to do something."

3. ". . .marked lack of respect for authority, always talking back."

Deprivation in early life, cultural, or affectional, may block development and could lead to problems in both learning and behavior. The culture or social class in which a child is reared may also encourage aggressive behavior (Brown, 1968). Often a power struggle occurs between teacher and child. The teacher perceives the child endeavoring to defeat the will, purpose, and authority of the people in charge (Phillips, 1968).

Thus the teacher's perception of a child's behavior often results in the most innocent actions of children being interpreted as deviant. Teachers seem to place a greater emphasis on authority and classroom management than on learning tasks of children.

Kay and Lowe (1968) asked teachers from New Hampshire to classify their students as either acting out or emotionally disturbed. The teachers reported that almost 7 percent of their students were in one of the two categories. Teachers were interviewed in person and cited the following causal factors as reasons for categorizing children as they did: (a) broken home, (b) affluent society, and (c) decline in religion.

The above study gave support to the fact that teachers evaluate pupil behavior in terms of their own role perspectives and that differences exist among teachers with regard to the types of behavior they consider most serious. Older, more experienced teachers gave the impression that there was nothing they could not handle, and that any child who continues to "buck their authority" was incorrigible and should be sent to the principal. They felt it was a waste of their time to discipline a few students when one could be teaching an entire class. The "acting out" child disturbed those teachers the most. They felt that when a child was withdrawn, he did not interfere with the learning of others and therefore, should not be excluded.

The term deviant, although difficult to define, is utilized categorically for the purpose of screening children out of school.

In kindergarten, first, and second grades, immaturity is a common diagnosis by teachers suggesting deviancy. Some school districts employ qualified psychologists and interview the parents along with the testing of the child to determine maturity. Other school districts may rely on such criteria as family background, reputation, and ethnicity to determine criteria for school attendance.

The probability that a child will be found ineligible for school attendance is increased if the child is from a family in poverty. The children of migrant workers, blacks, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans have a greater probability of being excluded than do children of middle class status.

Exclusion of children from school may be accomplished by informing parents, when they try to enroll their child, that he is too immature to be accepted. For those parents who are not sufficiently aggressive to bring their child back for continued reevaluations and rejections, the child quickly disappears from the record books and community concern.

The child of the migrant worker may be excluded through the process of indifference. For non-English speaking families, there may be no employee of the school district who is able to communicate with the family to explain about school, transportation, and hot lunch programs. Without such information, the family is unaware of either their rights or the availability of mandated services.

To date there has been a reluctance for either state or federal agencies to examine the gap between those services legislated and those services which are delivered to those in need. When school records serve as the basis for determining the reason or extent of school exclusions, behavioral deviancy appears to be one of the leading causes. The school officials determine that the behavior of a child is so disruptive to the learning atmosphere as to be injurious to the school community.

In some communities the schools are permissive to the point of permitting children to attend who have been identified as extortionists and gang leaders responsible for assaulting classmates. In the same community which accepts such behavioral deviancy, a child may not be accepted for admission until an opening occurs in a special program. In other cases a child may be excluded because he is judged as unable to profit from public school. Behavioral deviancy appears to be in large part a reflection of the attitudes of the faculty rather than the behavioral criteria related to the education or safety of children.

Beyond the primary grades, classifications commonly used for exclusion of elementary school children from the regular curriculum are emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted, severely retarded, brain damaged, or special problems related to a physical disability suggesting that the child is unable to profit from regular classes. A child so excluded for deviancy is usually identified by a teacher as unmanageable or unresponsive.

Following such an identification, a child is sent to a special class that is structured to cope with his behavior, if there are such facilities in the community. In other cases, where there are no facilities in the community, the child is usually sent home to be returned by the parent when there is some assurance that the child has improved. Less frequently a child is sent, with the parents' cooperation, to a state hosital.

In the educational codes of all states, where terms such as emotionally disturbed and socially maladjusted are used, the definitions are broad and without behavioral criteria for the determination of deviant conditions. In some states the process for exclusion is clearly described, but this provides the parents or child little solace since the parent is not aware of the behavior requirements for readmission.

Frequently, when young children are excluded from school because of a social behavior deviancy, the parents are not informed of any remedial activities which they could undertake to correct maladaptive behavior. Without special information, parents are unable to develop alternative plans for the education of their deviant children.

Elementary school children may deviate from normal standards in ability to cope with school related intellectual tasks. The most frequent prediction of this ability is the IQ test. IQ testing and screening on the basis of these tests varies greatly. Many communities have extensive special programs to deal with children who fail to meet a minimal score. These children are designated as retarded. Generally, urban and suburban programs are available for the education of these children. However, there are many communities including some large urban areas, where there is an insufficient number of classes to allow for the placement of all the children who need such services.

Therefore, such children may be placed on waiting lists and excluded from school until an opening is available. In rural communities, retarded children may not be admitted, and, without sufficient professional personnel to provide a valid IQ test, a child may remain rejected from school and ineligible for services from other facilities. The number of children who are lost between agencies remains an unknown figure.

There are subtle exclusions from regular education, which become so interspersed with legitimate services that only by careful examination is it possible to make distinctions. Referral of children to state mental institutions does not provide assurance that they will receive adequate educational and child care services. Some institutions are large human storage facilities, where children are deposited at an early age, and the parents are encouraged to abdicate all but financial responsibility. Adequate educational services in state institutions are more the exception than the rule.

In special education classes that are part of a public school system, a similar analogy can be made. Some classes are directed at remedial and rehabilitative activities; others serve as segregative facilities for the purpose of protecting the smooth educational processing of normal children.

During the elementary school years, the child of middle class parents has little likelihood of being excluded from school. The severely disturbed child may be excluded and, at times, the profoundly retarded, but the incidence of such exclusion is low.

Once a child is enrolled in school, his chances of remaining during the elementary school years are good. However, this observation may not be accurate when considering migrant workers or American Indians in rural areas. The present status of data on attendance does not permit any observations on nonattendance during the elementary school age.

In the southeastern part of the United States, there is a special attendance problem The present collusion of school authorities with parents protesting the efforts at integration prevents accurate estimates of nonattendance.

Another difficult problem to explore at the elementary school age is that of the partial attender. This child may be truant with or without parental sanction. The child may also receive informal school sanction for nonattendance, through the failure of the school to investigate the reason for absence. Another means utilized by schools to create a partial attendance condition is the system of suspensions. A child who is socially deviant may be suspended as a form of punishment.

Suspending a child who is frequently truant is a common approach for dealing with nonattendance. An analysis of elementary school attendance data presents many problems. Distinguishing between excused and unexcused, legitimate and illegitimate nonattendance requires intensive study. The evidence is overwhelming that children who fail to complete high school have long records of nonattendance through their total school career. Most of the children who will not complete high school are readily identifiable during their elementary school years.

On the basis of school records, junior high school and secondary schools have the highest incidence of children who leave school and fail to return. Some of these children are excluded through school administrative action due to social behavior which violates school rules.

Communities vary in the amount and kind of social deviancy they will accept prior to undertaking exclusion procedures. In some communities, assaultive behavior is tolerated by adult authorities if the youths restrict this behavior to their classmates and keep it off campus. In other cases, assault and extortion within school is overlooked if it does not occur with the present of faculty. However, standards vary within and between schools sufficiently so that assaultive behavior may be tolerated, but a student may be excluded if he refuses to remove his hat within a building. Many schools which will tolerate violence will not tolerate the presence of a pregnant girl.

Suspensions are a more common form of discipline in secondary school than on the elementary level. When a school rule is violated, a school may suspend a student for a period of time. This exclusion action creates a large number of youths who are partial attenders but difficult to identify because the record keeping is not designed to reveal such absences. The school's interests are best gained when they can show a large number of students attending, since they are reimbursed on the basis of attendance. In some schools the double entry system literally means two sets of books.

At the secondary school age, the middle class child's probability for being excluded increases. Middle class high schools may exclude youths for violation of dress codes, unauthorized smoking, unexcused absences, chronic tardiness. Marriage may be considered adequate reason for exclusion.

In transferring from junior high school to senior high school there is a high incidence of students lost. There are prescribed procedures for a student to take leave of a school, but there are no followup procedures to facilitate admission to a school. There does not appear to be any agreement between school districts to alert the receiving school that a new child is going to seek admission. In some large urban school districts, even in the process of a child transferring from one school to another, there may be no system established to alert the receiving school about the new enrollee.

Some youths become lost to the schools when referred to another agency for services. A youth may need funds for transportation, clothes, and/or food in order to continue to attend. The agency which receives the referral may fail to provide these services and the youth does not return to school. Neither the school nor the agency investigates the nonattendance.

Another circumstance resulting in school nonattendance is the decision of a secondary school faculty not to accept a youth who is returning to a community from a state institution. In some communities when a youth is returned by a state institution to his home, he may have difficulty gaining readmission to school if, at the time of leaving, he had a reputation as a behavior problem. The school faculty may react in a manner which suggests that they have little faith in the rehabilitative qualities of state institutions.

A youth of secondary school age, when placed in an institution, may have reached the end of his formal education. In some institutions a teenager may discover that attending class is considered a privilege by the authorities, and any misbehavior means removal of the educational privilege. Some of the young people in state institutions who are unable to earn educational privileges may spend years in a custodial arrangement without educational opportunities. By the time some institutionalized adolescents are discharged, they are frequently beyond compulsory attendance requirements.

From kindergarten through high school, the child who differs from the stereotype of how children should appear and behave runs a risk of being excluded from school. Excluding children from school by both direct and indirect means is now a common and readily observable practice. Those who are concerned with universal education have sufficient information to recognize that large numbers of children are being denied an educational opportunity. Excluding children from educational systems is not new. New dropout studies do not have to be commissioned. There more significant issue is to determine appropriate remedial actions to cope with this problem that limits the future productive capacity of our society.

LACK OF RESOURCES

Some students are being excluded from school by a lack of educational resources. This is inexcusable during a time when school attendance is compulsory in almost every state. Yet is is clearly and undeniably true that the educational pie is being divided up unequally and selectively. Students who are delinquent, handicapped, hospitalized or pregnant are being cheated of their right to their fair share of educational services and in some cases are being denied any educational services.

No area of special education has adequate personnel. It is estimated by the Joint Commission that 200,000 additional teachers of the handicapped are needed; of these, 121,000 are needed for the emotionally disturbed alone. School psychologists are in short supply; school social workers are even less available. Guidance workers, especially in elementary schools, are only at token levels.

Wherever specialized education services have been in short supply, the same groups of students have suffered most. Witness the recent survey which indicated that the handicapped, the disadvantaged, and the delinquent, the groups that may need vocational education the most, were participating the least in these programs.

There is a large number of "high risk" students labelled special, disadvantaged, alienated or what have you, who require high investment and receive little. Innovative and creative programs to serve these youngsters which demonstrate their effectiveness are written up, published, but seldom duplicated on a large scale. The problem is not that we do not know how to educate these students. The problem is that we lack the will to commit our resources to do the job. We are still focusing our attention on the minority of students who, because they are already making it in the system, probably need our attention the least.

There is no single cause of nonattendance that has influences equal to the lack of resources. There will be pupils never enrolled because there is no place for them in the school program. Others, as their performance is known, may find themselves excluded from their enrollment setting. There are those referred to institutions where educational provision is not, in truth, available—as is the case with many delinquents. There are those excluded because there is no one adequate in the system to work through the difficulty to salvage convert motivation hidden under a facade of defiance. Others are suspended repeatedly until they become nonattenders because the school authorities are without personal or referral resources. Others are transferred to services which cannot accept them, or to services which require transportation which is not available. Whole segments of the population, such as adolescents, are not being served to any reasonable degree. The heart of nonattendance lies in inadequate regular programs and poor or lacking ancillary resources.

PAST EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

The best predictor of whether a child will be an attender or not is his previous school history. A child who has had many failures may be predicted to be the nonattender.

Special categories of children who are particularly subject to becoming nonattenders may be identified. Mentally retarded youngsters who are unable to achieve in school are much more likely to become nonattenders than normal children. The retarded child who does not receive special services is placed in a position where he is confronted with an environment of irrelevancies during the school day. He is evaluated at frequent intervals as being a failure. His peers see him as a person of little status and the teacher of the regular class is not adequately trained to provide him with appropriate curricular materials.

A mentally retarded child in a school district without an adequate program usually leaves school by mutual agreement of the authorities and his parents. Such leaving appears to be the best solution to bring to an end the years of mutual frustration.

The emotionally distrubed child frequently has a history of disruptive behavior. When the behavior appears unmanageable to the teacher, the child is suspended in order to permit the regular class to continue to function. The disturbed child develops a reputation and a history of suspensions. The school authorities become psychologically prepared to suspend the child at his first maladaptive behavior.

When the behavior becomes sufficiently destructive to the authorities the child is placed on part day and eventually no day attendance. It is only recently that parents have been testing these exclusion activities in courts. The precendent that appears to be developing is that exclusion is *illegal* unless the school system has made a reasonable effort by providing special facilities for children with special problems.

Children with educational histories of truancy and failure frequently come from families that are not stable residents of the community. They often move from place to place which means that the child transfers from district to district. Since school districts usually function as autonomous units, and their primary contact is with a state office where they report only aggregate statistics, there is no systematic follow up of transferring children. The children who transfer and are also members of the lower socioeconomic class have the greatest likelihood of being lost to the educational system during the transfer process. The children simply leave one district and fail to report to the next district. These children may be deprived of a formal education because of their parents' indifference and the inadequacy of the communication within the educational system.

The rural poor frequently have distressing educational histories because of health, transportaion, nutrition, clothing, and economic problems. The child of a rural poor family is more likely to suffer from health and nutritional deficiencies than children from any other problem category. (The hunger that was discovered in the deep South was primarily among the rural poor.) The inadequate welfare system for the rural population may deprive children of adequate clothing so that they are unable to attend school during inclement weather.

There is always the problem of transportation for rural children, and the poor often live on back roads that are poorly maintained. These are the first roads that become impassable under poor weather conditions, and so these rural children may be excluded by environmental conditions that are directly related to poverty.

Because the families of the poor have inadequate funds for day to day survival, they are faced with the constant nagging problems of acquiring the simple necessities of life. Therefore, during harvest season, when there is an opportunity to increase the family's income, the poor are frequently diverted from school into the fields. The family may place the problems of living today at a higher priority than the education that will help their children tomorrow. Without food today there will be no tomorrow.

The urban poor have problems that are similar but not identical to the rural poor. Poor children do suffer more from chronic health problems than do the children of middle class families. Therefore, illness among poor children has an effect on school attendance. Among the poor, there are also problems of inadequate housing, family disorganization, and children that may suffer from the apathy that is associated with poverty. In homes where there is poverty, the motivation of the adults is toward the immediate problem of survival. Study and completion of homework may have less significance to a family fighting for survival than stretching their food dollar until the next payday. The children of the poor are immersed in the problems of today. The educational system is dependent upon children believing that, by learning abstractions now, they will lead a better life tomorrow.

For the American Indian child, his past educational history may have a particularly disastrous effect on his future. In a residential school a child is a member of a small community; his past sins become part of the institutional folklore. A child who has had difficulty adjusting to a residential school may have a history of running away and unscheduled vactions to his home. As a consequence the child may have missed a considerable amount of school and had to cope with the consequences of his running away with severe restrictions on his freedom. An Indian child may have to face a continual problem within a residential school of leaving an unhappy classroom and going to a residential living arrangement where he is unable to gain support or strength from his family.

Within the educational system the cumulative folder that a child takes with him as he goes from class to class may be used by the school faculty as a helpful diagnostic tool or as a warning sign that a troublemaker is on his way. The interpretation of the cumulative folder is dependent on the skill and the attitude of the teaching faculty. Competent faculty examine the folder looking for the strengths of a child so that they may build a teaching-learning situation that will have the greatest relevance. Less adequately trained teachers examine cumulative folders and seek comments and observations that will

fit into their preconceived fears of the children. Therefore, the child who is accompanied in his school career by a cumulative folder that contains hostile or angry comments from previous teachers may have his opportunities for future success in school severely limited. The manner is which a school faculty interprets a child's educational history is related to whether educators visualize children as a burden or see them as the hope for the future.

CONCLUSION

The previous statements in this report show that those who attended the conference were not advocating new legislation. In most cases, the legislation is adequate to protect the rights of children. The problem that faces the nation in attempting to provide universal education is to create an educational system that is designed to meet universal needs.

The children who are presently being excluded from the educational system by direct or indirect means experience this condition because of the restricted nature of the system. The present educational system is designed to serve a relatively narrow segment of society. Those who do not adhere to the values of this narrow social stratum face exclusion.

Those at the conference believed that the first step was to encourage the decision makers within the educational system to recognize their responsibility in providing education for all. In providing education for all there are some obvious curricular changes that must be considered. The intent of the changes should be to integrate the public schools into the life of the community, and to create a school milieu that emphasizes learning rather than competition.

By now we should be aware that blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and Indians have suffered from the competitive system in education. In recent years, minority groups have refused to accept the role of losers with their traditional grace. The response to the discriminatory practices inherent within the competitive system has changed in recent years. The protest in education has been a cause for alarm. The current perception of the crisis in education appears due to the persuasiveness of burning schools.

The recognition of a crisis does not automatically create a solution. In the turmoil that occurs around school conflict the spokesmen for the adversaries usually resort to futile, much used themes. These themes generally reflect on existing conditions but do not propose an alternative program directed at the problem. The problem is primarily that of an educational system which has not reacted to the problems of the poor. As a result of the insensitivity within the educational system, the poor have been excluded both psychologically and physically as recipients of services from the school.

There is considerable difficulty in offering curricular suggestions and at the same time avoiding some of the current cliches or recipe-type approaches to the educational issues. Despite the various cliches that are used for recommending curricular changes, most of the new concepts could be grouped under two separate headings. One group of advocates for curricular changes could be called the Ego Builders and the other group could be labeled as the Gradualists.

Ego Builders

The Ego Builders tend to focus on the following theme: the problems in public education stem from the teaching of middle class values to children of other cultures. The difficulty with assessing this theme is that the concept states an obvious truth, but at the same time fails to provide direction. The statement of shortcomings is helpful for developing a concern, but it does little to provide alternatives for those interested in designing a new curriculum. Curriculum designers who are charged with the development of positive program should be concerned about the alternative methods and materials that are being proposed. In the process of designing a new curriculum there is always the danger that the errors of the present system will be repeated. One of the present problems within the current educational system that must be avoided if the problem of exclusion is to be solved is the confusion between institutional subgoal and real life issues.

When the professional educators become so limited in their views of the purpose of education that the subgoal is seen as an end in itself, then the curriculum is in danger of being irrelevant.

With this limited perspective teachers may begin to see a quiet room as an end in itself rather than as a means to enable children to stay on some educational task. Such a restricted subgoal may so encapsulate an educational system that there is no port of entry for new knowlege to become incorporated into the curriculum.

Establishing goals that are relevant to the values of a community is a manageable task. The first step is to structure the school so that it functions as a community agency. The goals should be established by the parents and the teachers of the children attending the school.

One method of establishing goals would be to elicit answers from parents and teachers to such questions as, "What knowlege and skill do you want your children to learn in school?" In order to assist the respondents to participate with ideas that are programatically feasible, the school should share information with their constituents relative to budget limitations, legal requirements, faculty allocations, etc. Without full disclosure there can be no community involvement. The issue of the relevancy of middle class values has little meaning when the community develops its own curriculum. A school that is dedicated to serving its community establishes an educational program that reflects the goals of those who will be served by the school.

Gradualists

The Gradualists believe that the educational system that exists today requires only minor changes in order to provide necessary services to the community. Although the Gradualists believe in universal education, they would also state that there are many children who are unable to benefit from formal education. The theme of the Gradualists is, "All children are created equal and should receive the same benefits from the educational system." A corollary to this is that minority group members over the years have been able to succeed both in the educational system and society. The logic of this position is based on the evidence that some minority group members have been successful. They were victims of prejudice who overcame handicaps and succeeded, and should have their contributions recognized by continuing to perpetuate injustice against their progeny.

The intent of the Gradualists appears to be to provide "educational opportunity to all." When equality of benefit relative to the educational opportunity is studied there are some serious questions that remain unanswered. Should the learning of skills by students be considered as the most significant product to be derived from school? It is difficult to conceive of a more important reason for the expenditure of billions of dollars to maintain an educational system. When learning is examined as the criterion of benefit then it becomes obvious that minority group children do not benefit as much from the educational system as middle class children. The poor do not benefit as much as the affluent.

The Learners and Nonlearners

From the data on what children learn, it appears that the poor and minority group population acquire less from the educational system than do middle class children. Since the differences in outcome are so consistent, another look may have to be taken at the concept of equality of the educational opportunity. The purpose of an educational system should be toward the production of efficient learners. When a child fails to learn, a systems approach to education would suggest that something has failed within the system rather than within the child. The challenge to professional educators should be to develop enough strategies so that no child will be excluded from the system and that there will be enough alternatives to accommodate the widest possible spectrum of differences in learning and life style.

REFERENCES

Amble, B. R. Teacher evaluation of student behavior and school dropouts. *Journal of Education Research.* 1967, **60**, 408-410.

Besag, F. Deviant student behavior and the role of the school. *Urban Education,* 1966, **2**, 27-33.

Blough, T. B. *A critical analysis of selected research literature on the problem of school dropouts,* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1956.

Brookover, W. B., & Gottleib, D., *A sociology of education.* New York: American Book Company, 1964.

Clark, K. The clash of cultures in the classroom. in M. Weinberg (Ed.) *Learning together,* A book on integrated education, Chicago, 1964.

Doyle, L.A. Convergence and divergence in role expectations of elementary teachers, *College of Education Quarterly,* Winter, 1958, 3-9.

Eells, K., Davis, A., Havinghurst, R. J., Harrick, V.E., & Taylor, R.W., *Intelligence and cultural differences,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Fitzsimmons, M. J. The predictive value of teachers' referrals, in Krugman (Ed.), *Orthopsychiatry and the school.* New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc., 1958.

Goldfued, M.R., Adinolfe, A.A., & Dworkin, E., Effect of developmentally relevant info, and severity of desturbance on the understanding and evaluation of deviant behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* 1969, **174**, 482-485.

Goffman, E., *Asylums.* New York: Doubleday Anchor Original, 1961.

Henry, J., *Culture against man.* New York: Random House, 1963.

Jenkins, R.L. Classification of behavior problems of children. *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 1969, **125**, 1032-1039.

Johnson, A. C. Our schools make criminals. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 1942, **33**, 310-315.

Kay, B. R., & Lowe, C. A., Teacher nomination of children's problems. A rolecentric interpretation. *Journal of Psychology,* 1968, **70**, 121-129.

Kvaraceus, W. C. Deviancy or dry rot in classroom. *The Education Digest,* 1967, **33**, 24-26.

Levine, D. U. Stratification, segregation, and children in the inner-city school. *School and Society,* 1970, **98**, 84-89.

Lyons, D. F., & Powers, V., Follow-up study of elementary school children exempted for Los Angeles city schools during 1960-61. *Exceptional Children,* 1963, **30**, 155-162.

Matza, D. *Delinquency and drift.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

Montague, J. B. Social status and adjustment in school. *The Clearing House,* 1952, **27**, 19-24.

Penty, R.C. *Reading ability and high school dropouts.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956.

Phillips, B. N. Problem behavior in the elementary school. *Child Development,* 1968, **38**, 895-903.

Redl, F., Aggression in the classroom. *Today's Education,* 1969, **58**, 29-32.

Redl, F., Remedial labs try to cure classroom troublemakers. *Nations Schools,* 1969, **84**, 63-65.

Roucek, J. S. Role of educational institutions with special reference to highly industrialized areas complex factors promoting the growing numbers of dropouts. *World Year Book of Education,* 1965, Pg. 146-158.

Schanley, F. J., Longstreth, L. E., Lesterer, D. W., & Olhagen, G. *Evaluation of a special program for potential dropouts,* Los Angeles, California: Youth Studies Center, University of Southern California, 1961.

Schwitzgebel, R. *Street corner research,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Stumf, N. P. They didn't drop out. *Illinois Education,* 1965, **54**, 120.

Wattenberg, W. W. The social deviancy problem. *The Education Digest,* 1966, **33**, 13-17.